stadt and Red Hill, guard the naval gate to the capital. Now we must know where we stand in the clash between Kronstadt and Petrograd. The representative of the Executive Committee will tell us what the issues are. Next, the delegates from Kronstadt will present their case."

In this setting my task was easy. The artillerymen of the fort were suspicious of the sailors and considered them stupid ruffians. Moreover, they had no sympathy for the Bolsheviks in general.

Roshal, who followed me, began in a trembling voice, "Comrades, do you trust me?" Someone answered loudly, "Why should we? We have never seen you. You may be just an s.o.b."

Roshal's complaints that the Petrograd Soviet had treated Kronstadt unfairly found no response. In my concluding remarks I asked the Ino garrison for a clear yes or no decision and introduced a sharp resolution condemning the Kronstadt Soviet and pledging support of the Executive Committee and the government. The resolution was passed almost unanimously, with only six dissenting votes.

In the evening the Petrograd Soviet convened in an emergency meeting. Tseretelli pressed for a resolution condemning the Kronstadt Soviet and demanding its obedience to the orders of the government. Despite protests from the left, led by Trotsky, this resolution was passed by a two-thirds majority. The next day the All-Russian Congress of Peasants opened in Petrograd. This huge and somewhat loose organization, dominated by the right wing S-R, invited Tseretelli to report on the Kronstadt crisis. At the request of the left, the chair also invited Trotsky to defend Kronstadt, but the Congress refused to listen to him and some delegates threatened to eject him from the hall.

After two days of negotiation, Kronstadt surrendered and delivered its prisoners to the government's investigating commission. The Kronstadt Soviet recognized that there was no charge against about half of them, and these were freed at once. The others were transferred to Petrograd and released after the commission had checked the charges against each.

The unrest in Kronstadt was liquidated, we had gained the skirmish. Our victory was due partly to the authority of the Petrograd Soviet and the personal prestige of Tseretelli as the main negotiator for the government. There was a troublesome undertone in these negotiations, however. The effrontery of the Kronstadt Bolsheviks stemmed largely from the feeling of the local mob that, holding arms in their hands, they could challenge both the government and the Petrograd Soviet. They changed their tune when they realized that the heavy artillery of the mainland forts was not on their side. Things were rapidly